

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263
116, 609, 867

(1909-10) 1927

Woleaians
Elato

The natives were courteous, but the women displayed at first a certain shyness which was due to the presence of the five whites and their colored company.... We noticed the good behaviour of the children on the islands which we had recently visited; they obeyed older persons willingly.

28: Spiro--99 [3]
116, 593, 867, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-
Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveillance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually; two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"As in all cultures, Ifalik too inculcates its values in its children, and it does a very good job, since the behaviors not sanctioned by the culture all of which are found in the children, are extinguished in the adults. [sic] In order to have as complete and valid information as possible on the socialization process--both the kinds of behavior sanctioned and the techniques used, both rewards and punishments. I used three checks. I employed adult informants to tell me what is done, I interviewed all the children, and I recorded my own observations. The second technique lent itself to statistical recording, which I shall produce here. The amazing thing (to me) was the identical results obtained by the three methods. All three techniques show that the non-sanctioned behaviors are: theft, disobedience, aggression (including stone throwing at people, fighting, and aggression against parents), standing and talking in the presence of adults. There is one contribution each by the adults and children that the other did not make. The adults said that children are told that they should not be lazy, but should acquire economic skill, lest they have no food. But this is a general admonition for the future, not a child's possible dereliction for which he is punished. The children added a misdemeanor for which they are punished that the adults did not mention--playing away from home, and not returning to eat.

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Table 1

Total Number of Children From About 3 to 25

Total subjects: 42 Male: 25 Female: 17

<u>Misdeed</u>	<u>No: of subjects</u>	<u>% of subjects</u>	<u>Male %</u>	<u>Female %</u>
Fighting	21	50	56	41
Disobedience	18	43	40	47
Stone Throwing	11	26	36	12
Theft	10	23	32	11
Standing and talking in the presence of of adults (in canoe house)	10	23	40	0
Playing without returning home to eat.	7	16	16	23
Physical aggression against parents	3	17	0	17
Miscellaneous	14	33	28	41

Table one is the record of the misdeeds for which the children said they were punished. The figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out

practically all punishable behavior fall in the category of aggression.

Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls, for reasons difficult to answer. The greater incidence of stealing among boys may be accounted for by the fact that most stolen objects are stolen from the canoe houses, and only the boys have completely free access to canoe houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders is probably a result of the greater economic responsibility thrust on the young girl, which she resents, and for which she vents her aggressions. The fact that it is the mother, rather than the father, that is the brunt of the aggression is a further indication of this fact, since it is the mother that has the girl work at home.

Before we examine the techniques of enforcing these values, I may say that they are admirably successful. Though fighting occurs frequently among the children, I have seen children above the ages of ten fighting, and this pattern extends into adult life [sic] The same holds true of the other non-sanctioned behavior listed above. Of [111] course, some children learn to inhibit these culturally defined anti-social impulses before others. But it may be stated dogmatically that no child, after the age of ten, is guilty of any of them. And, what is of even greater importance, no adult is ever guilty of committing them."